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# Asymmetries in Fragments\*

Taisuke Nishigauchi

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## Abstract

This paper discusses the asymmetries with respect to island-sensitivity between two types of fragment answers: fragment answers to *wh*-questions, on the one hand, and fragments that derive from stripping, which in turn involves focus-movement, on the other. Fragment answers to *wh*-questions are insensitive to island constraints such as the relative-clause island constraint, on a par with sluicing, while fragments from stripping are sensitive to island constraints.

We attempt to account for the asymmetries in terms of the difference in relevant constituent structures: while focus-movement encompasses Focus Phrase (FocP), answers to *wh*-questions are placed in SpecCP, a smaller structural unit than the former. This entails that the constituent that corresponds to the answer has to occupy the same structural position as the *wh*-operator in the corresponding question sentence.

## 1. Asymmetries in fragment answers

### 1.1 Asymmetries

Merchant (2004) argues that fragment answers, unlike sluicing, are sensitive to the relative clause island. His analysis is based on examples like the following:

- (1) A. Microsoft hired a linguist who is on good terms with Chomsky.  
B. \*With Bresnan, too.

The fragment answer (1B) cannot be understood as meaning the same as (1'):

- (1') Microsoft hired a linguist who is on good terms with Bresnan, too.

This is in contrast with the acceptability of the following, which involves sluicing.

- (2) Microsoft hired someone who is on good terms with a famous linguist, but I don't remember which (linguist).

The latter part of sentence (2) is supposed to be acceptable on the interpretation which would arise if (2') were grammatical.

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- (2') \*...but I don't remember which<sub>i</sub> linguist Microsoft hired someone who is on good terms with *t<sub>i</sub>*.

Thus, Merchant (2004) provides the following generalization (Merchant, 2004, (161)):

- (3) A'-extraction in
- |             |                |               |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| fragments   | is sensitive   | } to islands. |
| VP-ellipsis | is sensitive   |               |
| sluicing    | is insensitive |               |

If we hypothesize, as does Merchant (2004), that the derivation of sluicing and that of fragment answers equally involve deletion (at PF) after *wh*-movement (with sluicing) and focus-movement (with fragment answers), we must say that PF-deletion involved in sluicing somehow 'repairs' the island-violation while that involved in deriving fragment answers does not have the 'repair' effect.

## 1.2 Fragment answers in Japanese

The following example indicates that fragments in Japanese are also subject to the relative clause island.

- (4) Keisatu-wa [Mari-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita.  
 police-Top Mari-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past  
 \*Hitomi-ni Ø-mo da.  
 Hitomi-Dat also be

'The police arrested the man who made obscene calls to Mari, and to Hitomi, too.'

We consider this type of fragments as instantiating stripping (Merchant, 2004), a descriptive term to designate a fragment construction (and/or its derivation) arising from focus movement followed by deletion. On the other hand, the following example indicates that a fragment answer to a *wh*-question is insensitive to the relative clause island.

- (5) A. Keisatu-wa [dare-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita no?  
 police-Top who-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past Q  
 'Did the police arrest the man who made obscene calls to who?'  
 B. Hitomi-ni Ø da yo.  
 Hitomi-Dat Cop  
 'To Hitomi.'

The fragment answer to *wh*-questions as in (5) patterns with sluicing, as the acceptability of the following, which involves sluicing, indicates.

- (6) Keisatu-wa [dareka-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita ga,  
 police-Top someone-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past but  
 boku-wa dare-ni ka kiite i-nai.  
 I-Top who-Dat Q hear be-Not  
 'The police arrested the man who made obscene calls to someone, but I haven't heard to whom.'

Thus, what we have observed so far suggests that fragments in Japanese are not monolithic and there are at least two kinds: those which are related with *wh*-questions, viz. 'short answers' to *wh*-questions and those which arise from stripping. Short answers to *wh*-questions are congenial with sluicing in that they are insensitive to the relative clause island.

- (7) A'-extraction in
- |   |   |                |               |
|---|---|----------------|---------------|
| { | fragments derived by stripping            | is sensitive   | } to islands. |
| { | fragments derived via <i>wh</i> -movement | is insensitive |               |
| { | sluicing                                  | is insensitive |               |

However, more discussion is necessary to conclude that *wh*-fragments and sluicing are really insensitive to islands. The next section will be devoted to this examination.

## 2. Fragment answers and the relative clause island constraint

### 2.1 The pied-piping analysis

Question sentences like (8), in which a *wh*-phrase appears inside a relative clause, have given rise to an important issue in the current linguistic theory.

- (8) Minna-ga [Akira-ga doko-de tor-ta syasin]-o mi-ta ka osiete.  
 all-Top Akira-Nom where-at take-Past picture-Acc see-Past Q tell me  
 'Lit. Everyone saw a picture that Akira had taken where?'
- (9) a. (Kare-ga) Tokyo-de tor-ta {syasin / no}(-o) desu.  
 he-Nom Tokyo-at take-Past picture / one Cop  
 'The picture/one that he had taken in Tokyo.'
- b. Tokyo(-de) desu.  
 Tokyo-at Cop  
 '(In) Tokyo.'

The acceptability of answers like (9b) has been taken to indicate the lack of the effect of relative clause islands in Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other '*wh* in-situ' languages. Huang (1982) specifically argued that no island constraint applies to LF-movement and subsequently approaches have been developed under which some non-movement operation licenses *wh* in-situ (Reinhart (1998), Tsai (1994), among others).

On the other hand, the fact that (9a) is a possible answer to questions like (8) is one of the reasons that led Nishigauchi (1990) to hypothesize that in Japanese (and other languages in which *wh*-questions exemplified by (8) are permissible) the entire complex NP containing the *wh*-phrase can be moved and occupy the operator-position at LF. ('Large-scale Pied-Piping at LF.') This idea has later been modified by Watanabe (1992) so that the *wh*-feature of the entire complex NP, instead of the whole NP itself, is moved to the operator position either in overt syntax or at LF. We'll call this the LF Pied-Piping (LFPP) approach.

According to this latter approach, the large constituent containing the *wh*-phrase, which itself moves inside the relative clause island, thereby making it [+*wh*], is moved to SpecCP in the covert syntax.

- (10) [CP [DP[+*wh*] a pic that Akira took where<sub>[+*wh*]] [TP everyone saw *t*]]</sub>
- 

The derivation of this structure involves no island violations.

Assuming that short answers involve movement of the answer fragment plus deletion under identity, the analysis of the question-answer pair, (8)–(9a) would be captured in the following way: (9a) must be derived by movement of the complex NP out of TP to some operator position, followed by deletion of the clause which contains the trace of the large NP. Deleted material is represented by < ... > here.

- (11)  $[_{XP}[_{DPA} \text{ pic that Akira took in Tokyo}]] <[_{TP} \text{ everyone saw } t]] >$
- 

Now, what is XP in (11)? Our answer will be that it is CP.

## 2.2 Whence short answers?

Given that a LFPP option exists and a ‘pied-piping’ answer (9a) is available, let us ask why a short answer like (9b) is a possible answer to (8).

Nishigauchi (1990) claimed that short answers like (9b) are obtained by ‘truncating’ the ‘Pied-Piping answers’ like (9a) via some discourse-deletion process that operates in discourse such as:

- (12) Q: Is it the picture that you took in Tokyo?  
A: No, in Washington DC.

We’ll turn to this possibility later on.

Now, if we pursue the idea of the present work that *wh*-fragments are derived by movement plus deletion, it appears that we must derive (9b) from the following construction, in which the constituent corresponding to the *wh*-fragment is preposed to the sentence-initial position.

- (13) \*[Tokyo-de]<sub>PP</sub> minna-ga [Akira-ga *t*<sub>PP</sub> tor-ta syasin]-o mi-ta no desu.  
Tokyo-in all-Nom Akira-Nom take-Past pic-Acc see-Past C Cop  
‘In Tokyo, everyone has seen a picture that Akira took.’

This sounds like a grammatical sentence, but it is ungrammatical on the intended reading on which Tokyo was the place where the pictures were taken (not where everyone saw the pictures), so we cannot view it as the source of (9b), so it seems.

## 3. Fragment answers and island-repair

### 3.1 Island repair by deletion

Merchant (2004) develops an analysis of the problem posed by sentences like (14), in which he invokes the PF theory of islands.

- (14) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language — guess which!

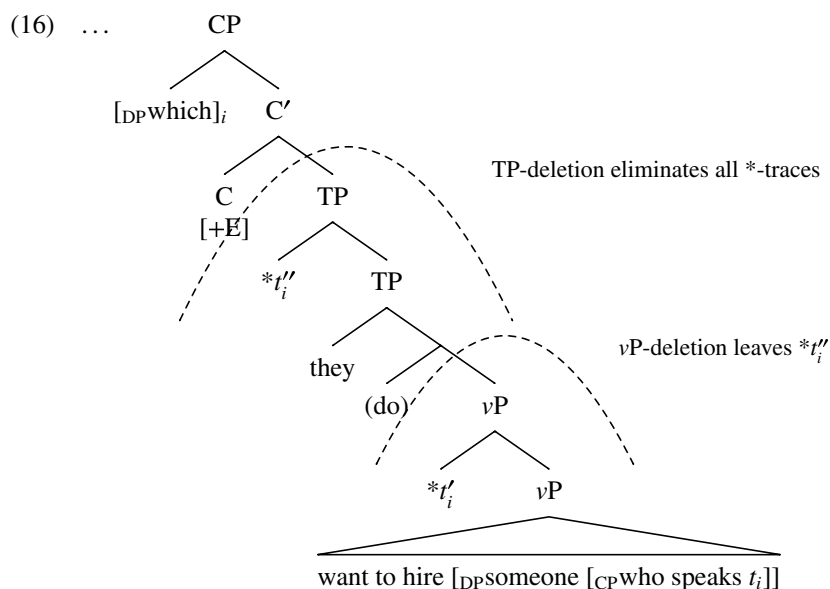
In this theory, island violations are considered to be due to properties of pronounced syntactic structure, not to constraints on derivation or representations of LF.

According to this theory, intermediate traces created by crossing syntactic islands are defective and cannot remain in a structure that gets pronounced. These traces are assigned \*, a PF-uninterpretable feature. Alternatively, \* may be assigned to XPs that form islands, as in Fox and Lasnik (2003). If ellipsis can apply, the structure which contains the \* feature(s) are eliminated from the PF object.

As Merchant (2004) proposes (see also Fox and Lasnik (2003), Merchant (2001)), this analysis not only accounts for (14), but also captures the well-known asymmetry between sluicing and VP-ellipsis:

- (15) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but  
a. I don’t remember which.  
b. \*I don’t remember which (language) they do.

Assuming that *wh*-movement targets every intermediate maximal projection along the way, deletion of TP (sluicing) and *v*P (VP-ellipsis) are shown to have different consequences.



In Merchant's (2004) system, the feature [+E], which has the phonological function of rendering TP on the righthand side unpronounced, has the feature-composition [ $u$  wh\*,  $u$  Q\*], which makes it compatible only with C [wh, Q].

With the type of approach to islands just outlined in mind, let us turn to *wh*-fragments in Japanese. This analysis is plausible as an account of the acceptability of the fragment answer (9b) as a reply to (8).

- (8) Minna-ga [Akira-ga doko-de tor-ta syasin]-o mi-ta ka osiete.  
 all-Nom Akira-Nom where-at take-Past picture-Acc see-Past Q tell me  
 'Lit. Everyone saw a picture that Akira had taken where?'

- (9) b. Tokyo-de desu.  
 Tokyo-at Cop  
 'In Tokyo.'

As we have seen above, the 'full' focus construction (13) from which (9b) is supposed to be obtained by deletion displays the island effect. The following cleft construction shows the same effect.

- (17) \*[[Minna-ga Akira-ga tor-ta syasin]-o mi-ta no]-wa Tokyo-de desu.  
 all-Nom Akira-Nom take-Past picture-Acc see-Past C-Top Tokyo-in Cop  
 Lit. 'It is in Tokyo that everyone saw a picture [that Akira had taken  $t$ ].'

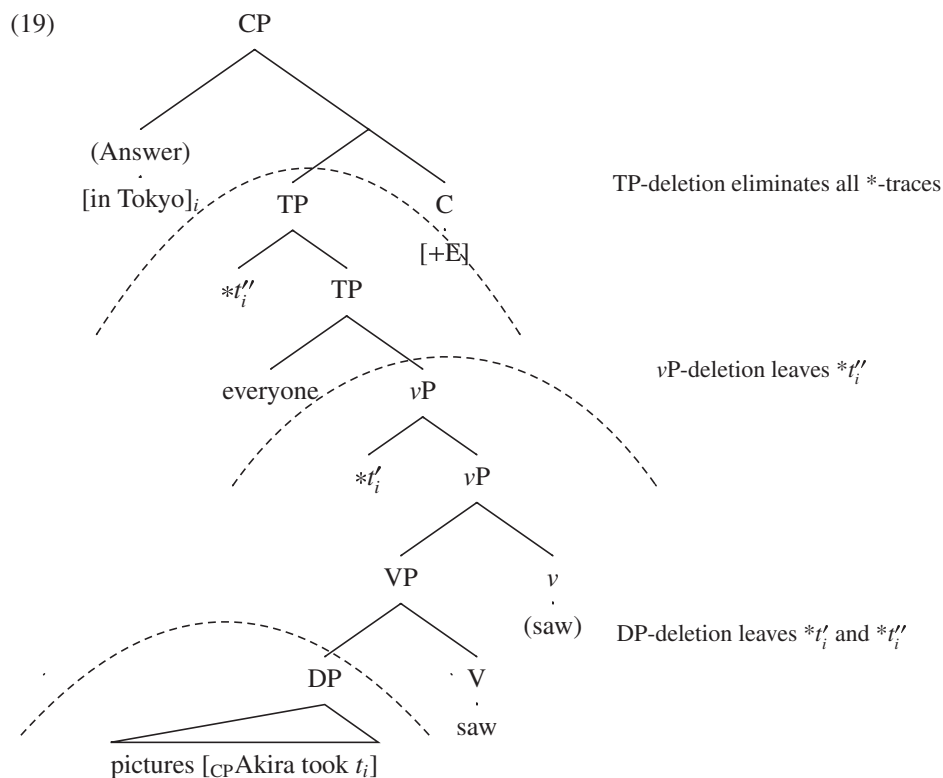
We take the ungrammaticality of (17) as a piece of evidence that *wh*-fragments are not derived from cleft-constructions.

Furthermore, this analysis also predicts, correctly, that argument deletion, which deletes the remnant of the relative clause from which the answer fragment has moved, yields a bad answer to (8).

- (18) a. \*Tokyo-de (minna-ga)  $\emptyset$  mi-ta no desu.  
 Tokyo-in all-Nom see-Past C Cop  
 'Lit. In Tokyo, everybody saw  $\emptyset$ .'
- b. \*(minna-ga)  $\emptyset$  mi-ta no wa Tokyo-de desu.  
 all-Nom see-Past C Top Tokyo-in Cop  
 'Lit. It was in Tokyo that everybody saw  $\emptyset$ .'

The answer in these sentences only means Tokyo was the place where they saw the pictures, never where the pictures were taken.

The following structure shows how this analysis makes the distinction between (9b) and (18) as an answer to (8). Crucially, we hypothesize that the constituent designating the answer occupies SpecCP.



As the structure indicates, deletion of TP erases all the offending traces, and this explains why the fragment (9b) is an acceptable answer to (8). In contrast, if (18) is derived by deletion of DP (argument deletion), then both the offending traces created by the movement of the answer fragment,  $*t'_i$  and  $*t''_i$ , remain in the structure, which ends up being ungrammatical. Cf. Saito (2004) for the arguments that argument deletion exists in Korean and Japanese. Alternatively, if the analysis in Otani and Whitman (1991) is correct, what we see in (18) is VP-ellipsis, with head V raised to  $v$  or T, so that either VP or vP is deleted. In this latter case,  $*t''_i$  is left in the structure. In either case, deletion as seen in (18) leaves some offending trace, and this accounts for their ungrammaticality in contrast to (9b).

### 3.2 Alternative solutions

There are at least two potential interfering factors with the analysis depicted in subsection 3.1. First, it is not self-evident that the ellipsis site does contain an island to begin with. Merchant (2001) discusses this possibility for sluicing in English.

#### E-TYPE PRONOUNS

Let us first review Merchant's (2001) chapter 5 answer to the puzzle posed by the fact that sluicing can be grammatical even when its source structure involves an island violation. Consider a well-known case of the CNPC violation, which we repeat.

- (14) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language — guess which!

Sluicing in (14) is acceptable although the sentence from which it can be derived is ungrammatical because of the CNPC.

- (20) \*Guess which Balkan language<sub>i</sub> they hired someone who speaks  $t_i$ .

Merchant's (2001) answer to this puzzle is that the CNPC may not be violated even when ellipsis yields a grammatical output. Merchant (2001) argues that the source structure of the sluiced portion in (14) is the following:

- (21) Guess [which ~~s/he speaks~~]

This structure involves a portion within the island which itself does not constitute an island. Also, this portion contains an E-type pronoun referring to the head of the relative clause. In the case of (21), the pronoun *s/he* is an E-type pronoun that refers to *the person who they hired*. This is problematic from a semantic point of view, for in the putative 'source' clause for sluicing (21) the propositional content 'they hired the person (who speaks a Balkan language)' is either ignored or presupposed.

This may not be a sufficient reason to exclude (21) as a putative source for (14), but it is clear that this line of consideration does not provide a real solution to the problem posed by the fact that (9b) is a possible answer to (8) — A non-elliptical answer that has an E-type pronoun referring to the head of the relative clause in the question and does not involve an island in the answer, which the type of analysis represented by Merchant (2001) would posit for (8), does not provide a semantically plausible 'source' for the short fragment.

- (8) Minna-ga [Akira-ga doko-de tor-ta syasin]-o mi-ta ka osiete?  
all-Nom Akira-Nom where-at take-Past picture-Acc see-Past Q tell me  
'Lit. Everyone saw a picture that Akira had taken where?'

- (22) #Tokyo-de (Akira-ga sorera-o tor-ta no) desu.  
Tokyo-in Akira-Nom those-Acc take-Past C Cop  
'It was in Tokyo that Akira took them.'

So even if (22), in which the relative clause is replaced by an E-type pronoun, provides a good antecedent for the ellipsis site in the sense that it does not involve an island, that must not be the source for (9b), because it clearly differs semantically from the question sentence (8). The problem is not only that the propositional content 'everyone saw the pictures' is now at best part of the presupposition of of this answer. A more important point is that this putative source does not capture the scopal relation between the subject *minna* 'everyone' and the *wh*-phrase *doko-de* 'where' in the relative clause in (8): While it is possible to understand the *wh*-phrase as co-varying with the main clause subject in (8), this interpretation is missing in (22). We will turn to this point later.



## BARE-COPULAR STRATEGY

The second factor that may interfere with the ‘island repair’ analysis of (9b), which we will defend, has to do with what we call the bare-copular strategy, discussed by Saito (2004).

Saito (2004) suggests that short answer (9b) has an alternative source, which has a general form:

- (23) (sore-wa) XP da/desu  
       it-Top        Cop

in which the pronominal *sore* ‘it’ vaguely refers to the circumstance related to the event depicted in the sentence.

Examining the absence of the island effect in examples like (9b), Saito (2004) proposes the possibility that the subject of (9b) is occupied by a phonologically empty pronoun (as in (24a)) and therefore it does not have to involve either movement or deletion. The empirical basis of this claim is that an overt version of that pronoun is available in Japanese, *sore* ‘it’, which is illustrated in (24b):

- (24) a. *pro* Tokyo-de desu.  
       Tokyo-at Cop  
       b. Sore-wa Tokyo-de desu.  
       it-Top Tokyo-at Cop

(24b) is acceptable as an answer to question (8), as Saito observes based on the same type of example. It is worth stressing here that when the derivation of (9b) utilizes the bare-copular strategy, the identity condition for ellipsis is trivially satisfied. The argument for island repair based on the contrast between (9b) and (13)/(17) is considerably weakened if (24) is a source. For the sake of discussion, we assume that the null version of *sore* is available.

Now it is clear from the discussion so far that, in order to show that deletion can fix an island violation in short answers in Japanese, we have to find an environment where the *wh*-fragment is derived from a source in which the bare-copular strategy using *sore/pro* is unavailable.

In the next subsection, we will show that functional answers in the sense of Engdahl (1988) are not compatible with the bare-copular strategy.

### 3.3 Functional answers

We obtain a functional answer when an answer to a *wh*-question contains a variable inside the description, and that variable is bound by a quantifier that takes wide scope in the question. Answer B: of (25) exemplifies a functional answer.

- (25) A: Minna-ga John-ga dare-to atta to omotteiru ka osiete.  
       All-Nom John-Nom who-with meet-Past that think Q tell me  
       ‘Who does everyone think that John met with?’  
       B: Soitu-no hahaoya-to desu.  
       the guy-Gen mother Cop  
       ‘With his/her mother.’

What is peculiar about functional answers is that the value of the *wh*-phrase of the question (25A), as well as that of the fragment answer (25B), covaries with the quantifier *minna* ‘everyone’. Thus the referential value of the fragment answer (25B) may be different with respect to each member of the set designated by the quantifier.

What is also noteworthy about functional answers is that they require strict connectivity with the question. In particular, we note that functional answers are incompatible with the bare-copular strategy that we looked at in subsection 3.2. This is demonstrated by the contrast in (26).

- (26) B: a. Sore-wa Hanako-to desu.  
           it-Top Hanako-with Cop  
       b. \*Sore-wa soitu-no hahaoya-to desu.  
           it-Top the guy-Gen mother Cop

The contrast seen in the a- and b-examples of (26) suggests that the presence of *sore* prevents the binder for the bound pronoun from occurring in the structure. Thus functional answers help us to force the derivation of a short answer to involve deletion.

Now let us consider (8) again, in light of the possibility of functional answers.

- (8) Minna-ga [Akira-ga doko-de tor-ta syasin]-o mi-ta ka osiete.  
     all-Nom Akira-Nom where-at take-Past picture-Acc see-Past Q tell me  
     ‘Lit. Everyone saw a picture that Akira had taken where?’
- (27) a. (Akira-ga) soitu<sub>i</sub>-no kokyoo-de tor-ta {syasin / no} desu.  
           Akira-Nom the guy-Gen hometown-at take-Past pic / one Cop  
           ‘The picture/one that he had taken in his or her<sub>i</sub> hometown.’  
       b. Soitu<sub>i</sub>-no kokyoo\*(-de) desu.  
           the guy-Gen hometown-at Cop  
           ‘In his or her<sub>i</sub> hometown.’

Answer (27a) is a functional answer derived by LFPP, in which, if all the people concerned are from different areas, each person saw a different picture taken in his or her home town. The acceptability of this answer corresponds with the acceptability of the following focus sentence, also derived by ‘large-scale pied-piping’.

- (28) [Akira-ga soitu<sub>i</sub>-no kokyoo-de tor-ta syasin]-o minna<sub>i</sub>-ga *t*  
     Akira-Nom the guy-Gen hometown-at take-Past pic-Acc all-Nom  
     mi-ta no desu.  
     see-Past C Cop  
     ‘Lit. It was the picture that Akira had taken in his or her<sub>i</sub> home town that everyone<sub>i</sub> saw.’

The availability of the functional answer (27a) finds its basis on the fact that the pronominal (epithet) *soitu* appearing in the complex NP is bound, as desired, by the quantificational subject *minna* ‘all, everyone’ in the position designated by *t* of the cleft sentence (28), from which (27a) is derived.

The status of short answer (27b), which we find quite good, is very significant. As we will show shortly, this example provides a very important piece of evidence that island-repair is the only solution available in the derivation of this short answer.

As the asterisk outside the parentheses indicates, the omission of the postposition *-de* ‘at’ leads to total ungrammaticality to all speakers. This is a sign of connectivity, and we take it as indicating that we cannot find the source of (27b) in the bare-copular strategy, discussed in 3.2. In fact, such a putative source is itself ungrammatical.

- (29) \*Sore-wa soitu<sub>i</sub>-no kokyoo-de desu.  
 it-Top the guy-Gen hometown-at Cop  
 ‘It was in his or her<sub>i</sub> hometown.’

This also shows that the analysis suggested in Nishigauchi (1990), according to which (27b) is derived from (27a) by a discourse deletion rule, is on the wrong track, for this approach presupposes what is similar to the bare-copular frame.

This consideration poses a further problem to the type of solution, exploiting E-type pronouns in putative source structures, to the fact that sluicing is insensitive to island-effects, explored by Merchant (2001). As we saw in subsection 3.2, this line of analysis leads us to posit the following putative source for the *wh*-fragment (9b).

- (22) #Tokyo-de (Akira-ga sorera-o tor-ta no) desu.  
 Tokyo-in Akira-Nom those-Acc take-Past C Cop  
 ‘It was in Tokyo that Akira took them.’

This is problematic, not only because of the information structure as discussed in subsection 3.2, but also because this putative source does not allow the answer-fragment to co-vary with the quantifier of the main clause in the question sentence, which is now ‘buried’ under the E-type pronoun.

Thus we conclude that the only possible source for the functional fragment answer (27b) is (13), which we have shown to be ungrammatical for the violation of the relative clause island even when its focus portion contains an individual name. Thus, the grammaticality of (27b) can only be accounted for by island-repair, as described in section 3.1.

We consider this a very important result. This consideration provides a compelling piece of evidence that *wh*-movement in covert syntax is free from the relative clause island constraint effect and that the derivation of the relevant answer involves focus or cleft construction plus ellipsis, where island repair plays a crucial role.

## 4. Fragments/Stripping

### 4.1 Asymmetries again

In this section, we discuss the type of fragment answers in Japanese which we observed in section 1. were sensitive to island effects. This type of fragment was illustrated by (4), repeated here.

- (4) Keisatu-wa [Mari-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita.  
 police-Top Mari-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past  
 \*Hitomi-ni Ø-mo da.  
 Hitomi-Dat also be  
 ‘The police arrested the man who made obscene calls to Mari, and to Hitomi, too.’

This type of fragment, which we hypothesize derives from stripping, viz. focus-movement followed by deletion, is in marked contrast to *wh*-fragments, illustrated by (5), and sluicing, illustrated by (6).

- (5) A. Keisatu-wa [dare-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita no?  
 police-Top who-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past Q  
 ‘Did the police arrest the man who made obscene calls to who?’

- B. Hitomi-ni  $\emptyset$  da yo.  
 Hitomi-Dat Cop  
 'To Hitomi.'

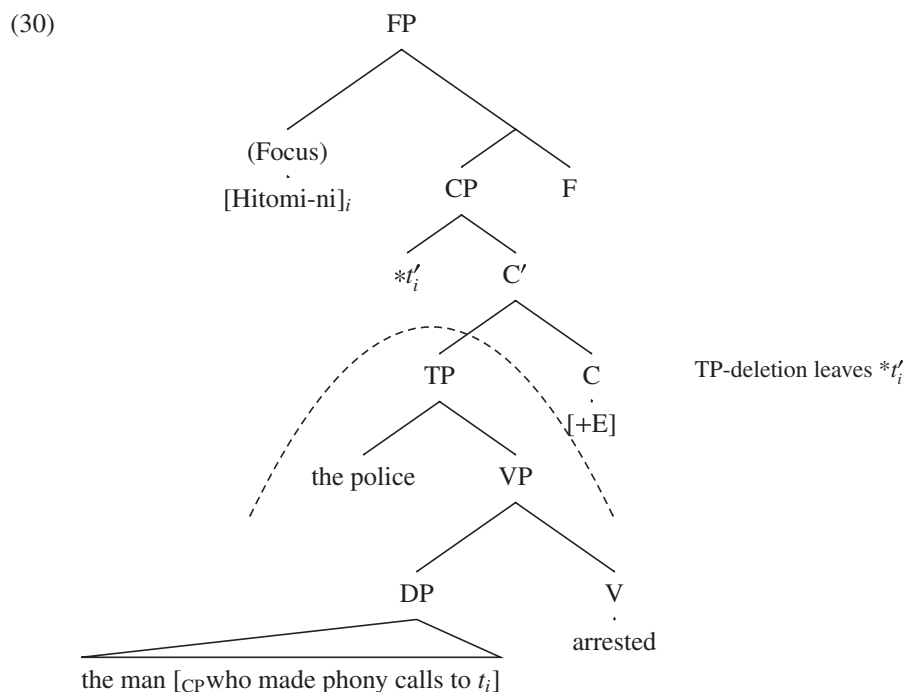
- (6) Keisatu-wa [dareka-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita ga,  
 police-Top someone-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past but  
 boku-wa dare-ni ka kiite i-nai.  
 I-Top who-Dat Q hear be-Not  
 'The police arrested the man who made obscene calls to someone, but I haven't  
 heard to whom.'

Also as we saw in section 1., Merchant (2004) observes that fragments which arise from stripping in English are sensitive to island effects.

- (1) A. Microsoft hired a linguist who is on good terms with Chomsky.  
 B. \*With Bresnan, too.

Merchant (2004) accounts for the ungrammaticality of (1B) by hypothesizing (i) that stripping arises from focus-movement, movement of a constituent that is to remain as fragment to SpecFP, whose head F selects CP, followed by deletion of TP, and (ii) that E is of the featural constitution [ $\mu C^*$ ,  $\mu F$ ], which ensures that it must occur local to C, but need not move to F to check  $\mu F$ , since Agree can apply.

Along these lines, we posit the following structure for the fragment derived via stripping (4).



Assuming, with Merchant (2004), that focus-movement is successive-cyclic and that E [ $\mu C^*$ ,  $\mu F$ ] is located in C, deletion of TP leaves an offending trace  $*t'_i$  in SpecCP, which causes the derivation to crash.

Thus, we account for the asymmetries with respect to island-sensitivity between sluicing and *wh*-fragments, on the one hand, and fragments derived by stripping, on the other, in terms of phrase-structural differences: In sluicing and *wh*-fragments, the fragment element to be left behind by deletion is located in SpecCP, while in fragments by stripping, the fragment raises to SpecFP by the time deletion takes place. In the latter, the fragment is so high in the tree that TP-deletion leaves an offending trace in SpecCP, which is uninterpretable in PF.

## 4.2 Movement in stripping?

At this point, we would like to confirm the point, which we have taken for granted so far, that stripping really involves movement.

### ANAPHOR BINDING

One such case comes from binding phenomena involving anaphors in the fragment. Consider the following sentence (discourse).

- (31) Butyoo<sub>i</sub>-wa syatyoo<sub>j</sub>-ga Tanaka-o simei-suru to omow-te iru. Kare-zisin<sub>i,j</sub>-mo  
 manager-Top president-Nom Tanaka-Acc appoint-do that think be himself-also  
 da.  
 be  
 ‘The manager<sub>i</sub> thinks the president<sub>j</sub> will appoint Tanaka. Himself<sub>i,j</sub> also.’

The fragment can be understood as meaning the manager thinks the president will appoint him or himself, where it is possible to interpret the anaphor *kare-zisin* ‘himself’ as referring to either the manager or the president.

This ambiguity cannot be expected if we consider the fragment as a substitution for the constituent *Tanaka* in the embedded clause, for if we did, we get the following as a source for the fragment.

- (32) Butyoo<sub>i</sub>-wa syatyoo<sub>j</sub>-ga kare-zisin<sub>i,j</sub>-o simei-suru to omow-te iru.  
 manager-Top president-Nom himself-Acc appoint-do that think be  
 ‘The manager<sub>i</sub> thinks the president<sub>j</sub> will appoint himself<sub>i,j</sub>.’

In this putative source sentence, the anaphor *kare-zisin* ‘himself’ can only be bound by the subject of the embedded clause. On the other hand, if the anaphor is preposed to the sentence-initial position, the interpretation of the anaphor turns out to be ambiguous.

- (33) Kare-zisin<sub>i,j</sub>-o butyoo<sub>i</sub>-wa syatyoo<sub>j</sub>-ga simei-suru to omow-te iru.  
 himself-Acc manager-Top president-Nom appoint-do that think be  
 ‘Himself<sub>i,j</sub>, the manager<sub>i</sub> thinks the president<sub>j</sub> will appoint.’

It is plausible that this ambiguity arises from the successive-cyclic movement of the anaphor *kare-zisin* ‘himself’, via adjunction to the embedded clause.

- (34) anaphor<sub>1</sub> [manager thinks [<sub>t</sub><sub>1</sub> [president appoints <sub>t</sub><sub>1</sub>]]]

If the anaphor is interpreted in the position <sub>t</sub><sub>1</sub>, the ‘narrow’ reading on which the anaphor is bound by the president is obtained, while if it is interpreted in the intermediate position <sub>t</sub><sub>1</sub>, the ‘wide’ reading in which the anaphor is bound by the manager is available.

Thus the ambiguity of the anaphor-fragment in (31) can be taken as a piece of evidence that its derivation involves a stage in which the constituent to become the fragment is preposed to a sentence-initial position.

The ambiguity in question is consonant with the ambiguity of the following cleft sentence.

- (35) Butyoo<sub>i</sub>-ga syatyoo<sub>j</sub>-ga simei-suru to omow-te iru no-wa kare-zisin<sub>i,j</sub>(-o) da.  
 manager-Top president-Nom appoint-do that think be that-Top himself-Acc be  
 ‘It is himself<sub>i,j</sub> that the manager<sub>i</sub> thinks the president<sub>j</sub> will appoint.’

In Hiraiwa and Ishihara’s (2002) analysis, cleft constructions are derived, first, by movement of the focus constituent to SpecFP, followed by movement of the remnant clausal unit (from which focus-movement has applied prior to this) to SpecTopP (Topic-movement). Thus, in this analysis, the constituent in the pre-copular position in (35) is considered to be in SpecFP.

#### NPI

Merchant (2004) discusses the distribution of negative polarity items (NPIs), but this is not in the context of his discussion of connectivity retained by short answers. As (36) shows, the NPI *any* is unable to appear as a short answer.

- (36) A. What didn’t Max read?  
 B. \*Anything.

Rather, he discusses this issue as part of his argument for the derivation of short answers from left-dislocation, for NPIs are unable to appear in a left-dislocated position.

- (37) \*Anything, Max didn’t read.

In this respect, NPIs in Japanese appear to behave differently. We use *sika*, whose best approximate in English would be ‘but’ as in ‘He eats nothing *but* hamburgers.’

- (38) A. Kono neko-wa sake-sika tabe-nai no?  
 this cat-Top salmon-sika eat-not Q  
 Lit. ‘This cat eats nothing but salmon?’ or ‘Does this cat eat only salmon?’  
 B. \*Iya, maguro-sika desu.  
 no tuna-sika Cop  
 Intended: ‘No, only tuna.’

Although (38B) is as bad as (36B), left-dislocation of the same NPI is not so bad.

- (39) Maguro-sika kono neko-wa tabe-nai no desu.  
 tuna-sika this cat-Top eat-not C Cop  
 Lit. ‘This cat eats nothing but tuna.’

We take this as due to the equivocal status of left-dislocation as seen in (39). That is, left-dislocation in this example may either be focus-movement or scrambling, and it has been claimed by Ishii (1997) that the restriction on scrambling is less strict than on canonical varieties of A’-movement, of which we consider focus-movement is an instantiation. It is highly likely that the acceptability of (39) is due to this aspect of scrambling. On the other hand, the following cleft construction is very low in acceptability.<sup>1</sup>

- (40) \*Kono neko-ga tabe-nai no wa maguro-sika desu.  
 this cat-Nom eat-not C Top tuna-sika Cop  
 ‘What this cat does not eat is but tuna.’  
 Intended: ‘What this cat eats is nothing but tuna.’

<sup>1</sup> Facts like this are also discussed in Kizu (2005).

We take this as a strong piece of evidence that the focus element of cleft constructions is what short answers derive from. Given that the cleft construction is a subspecies of focus constructions, we continue to assume that short answers derive from focus.

Notice that a fragment answer without *sika* is possible as an answer to (38A).

- (41) Iya, maguro desu.  
no tuna Cop

But this answer is arguably from a source other than a focus construction, and must be from the bare-copular frame discussed in 22, which does not observe connectivity. We have two arguments for this. One is that (38A) does not allow a functional answer.

- (42) \*Iya, zibun-no emono desu.  
no self-Gen catch, game Cop  
'No, (only) its own catch.'

As we have seen in subsection 3.3, a short functional answer must be derived from a full-fledged construction, not from a bare-copular frame.

Second, short answers exemplified by (41) do not retain a postposition used in the question, another hallmark of the absence of connectivity.

- (43) A. Sono mise-wa minami-no miti-kara sika ike-nai no?  
that store-Top south road-from sika go-Not Q  
Lit. 'One can go to the shop from no way but the south way?'  
'Can you go to the store only from the south way?'  
B. Iya, Kita-gawa-no miti(??-kara) desu.  
no north-side-gen road -from Cop  
'(From) the north side way.'

For some reason which we do not understand, B's answer sounds even better without the postposition. This might be taken as suggesting that this answer is only derived from a bare-copular frame.

### 4.3 Corrective/Contrastive answers

So far, we have been discussing that fragments derived via stripping are sensitive to island effects, unlike sluicing and *wh*-fragments.

As Merchant (2004) acknowledges, the acceptability of stripping fragments whose derivation involves island violations is improved when they are used in what he calls 'correctives, multi-speaker cooperative sentence constructions, and certain confirmatory, clarificational, and elaborative fragments' (Merchant, 2004, 709). Thus, fragments like the following are better than (1B) as reply to (1A), since it constitutes a corrective reply.

- (44) No, with BRESNAN!

Merchant's (2004) example (178) also shows that fragments derived from stripping are sensitive to the relative clause island:

- (45) \*They arrested the guy [who was making obscene calls to Abby] already, but not to Beth.

Here again, the stripping fragment is improved in a dialogue like the following. With contrastive stress on the fragment answer, this dialogue might be considered corrective.

- (46) A. Did they arrest the guy [who was making obscene calls to Abby]?  
 B. No, to BETH!

In Japanese as well, (4) is somewhat improved if the relevant constituents are pronounced with contrastive stress.

- (47) A: Keisatu-wa [MARI-ni itazura-denwa-sita otoko]-o taiho-sita no?  
 police-Top Mari-Dat phony-phone-made man-Acc arrest-Past  
 ‘Did the police arrest the man who made obscene calls to MARI?’  
 B: Iya, HITOMI(-ni) da yo.  
 no Hitomi-Dat be  
 ‘No, (to) HITOMI.’

Notice that, in (47), case-marker (or postposition) *ni* can be omitted in the answer fragment, which leads us to suspect that real connectivity is not required in these cases. This in turn leads us to suspect that the type of answer exemplified by (47B) is derived by the bare-copular strategy. That this may be on the right track is suggested by the fact that answer (47B) can be prefixed by *sore-wa* ‘it is (that) ...’. Further, a functional answer to (47A) is low in acceptability.

- (47) B’: \*Iya, soitu-no HAHAOYA(-ni) da yo.  
 no the guy-Gen mother-Dat be  
 ‘No, (to) his MOTHER.’

Thus, we conclude that the corective answer exemplified by (47B) is not derived from a fully sentential source but from a bare-copular frame, which accounts for the fact that this type of answer is free from island effects.

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